FREE SOCIETY

A PERIODICAL OF ANARCHIST THOUGHT, WORK AND LITERATURE.

VOL. Xb. NO. 7. CHICAGO, SUNDAY, FEBRUARY 14, 1904. WHOLE NO. 453.

Mine and Thine.*

Two words about the world we see
And nought but Mine and Thine they be.
Ah! might we drive them forth and wide
With us should rest and peace abide;
All free, nought owned of goods and gear
By men and women tho it were.
Common to all wheat and wine
Over the seas and up the Rhine.
No manslayer then the wide world o'er,
When Mine and Thine are known no more.
Yea, God, well counselled for our health,
Gave all this fleeting earthly wealth
A common heritage to all,
Tdat men might feed them therewithal,
And clothe their limbs and shoe their feet
And live a simple life and sweet.
But now so rageth greediness
That each desireth nothing less
Than all the world, and all his own;
And all for him and him alone.

—William Morris.

* These lines are literally translated by William Morris from a poem written in the fourteenth century.

—o—

A Prince of the Catholic Church.

Fenelon, Archbishop of Cambray, France, was an ornament of his calling: a philosopher, and a gifted writer and poet. What narrow-minded pigmies the twentieth century prelates of all denominations appear beside him, a perusal of his works will readily demonstrate.

In his "Telemaque," written more than two hundred years ago, he depicts graphically an ideal state of philosophical Anarchy successfully lived by an ancient people called the Bétiques, and situated at the southwest corner of the Spanish peninsula. The country is fertile, and, the climate being mild, a double annual harvest is easily assured, if assisted only moderately by the industrious inhabitants. The public highways are well built, and are shaded and ornamented by fruit trees and floral plants. On the green hill sides are perpetually seen the well-nourished flocks of the herders. These also furnish the fine wool which is dexterously spun into fine cloth, and mostly so by the women. These people even, in a primitive way, mined gold and silver, but not for money. No, its use was confined to the manufacture of certain tools and implements, such as plough-shares, etc. As they cultivated and manufactured in common all that they needed for a simple and happy existence, and also despising all luxuries, they needed no foreign markets to get rid of a still less needed surplus, or acquire foreign luxuries; consequently money was of no use to them. They were nearly all herders or tillers of the soil, with only a few artisans. They only cultivated art inasmuch as it served the actual needs of the community; "art for the sake of art" being held as a luxury, and therefore as tending to demoralize a healthy people. They thus jealously guarded themselves against any aristocracy, "artistic" or any other kind, and that was wise. The spinning, weaving and bleaching of cloth, was, as said before, almost exclusively attended to by the women, who also made it into plain and comfortable garments, dispensing with all unnecessary trimming or ornamentation. They despised all ornamental apparel or head-gear, and strictly taboed jewelery as pernicious, because it tending to foster personal pride, envy, vanity and other vices.

All ostentation in speech or manners, too, was discouraged as interfering with the general peace. Intoxicants of any and all kinds were strictly excluded from the community, as tending to rouse and nurse the evil passions; even for medical purposes they would have none of them. They lived principally on cereals, vegetables, fruits, milk, and cheese; abstinence from meat being considered a virtue, tho such was not ordained.

Restriction of all and every abuse or excess might have been called their religion. To the Phenicians who had come to trade with them, and who being an "advanced" nation, expressed their surprise at the "simple" mode of living of the Bétiques, they would reply: "Well, does your people, as a whole, feel more happy because a few among you have palaces or heaps of riches? Are they more united or of a more peaceful mind than we are? Nay, we prefer a life without such 'ambition,' greed, envy, fear, class-hatred, waste for some and want for the rest; we have no desire for your false necessities. Indeed, we hold our lands, mines, fields, flocks, and crops in common. We want no directors and no chiefs except one in each separate family to guide and advise them." And altho he had the right to administer rebuke, and even punishment, tho only with the consent of the rest of the members of that family, the natural horror that these good and simple people have for faults and vice in general is so deep seated that punishments are seldom, if ever, resorted to. There is no need of any judges among them; there conscience is their all-sufficing judge. There is no need for "dividing up" of what there is in abundance. Even those that prefer to move around from one section of the country to another can do so by living in tents, caves or temporary abodes. There is a lasting fraternal bond between them, upheld by the voluntary renunciation of all vain and ambitious pleasures, luxuries and unnecessary possessions or commodities. Honor to them was honor, and not a mere contradictory expression as it is in other "commercial" States. Their teacher was nature, not tradition or custom. They were equals, yet superior wisdom in any of them was duly appreciated and honored, as also was superior virtue, such as personal sacrifice in danger or other emergencies, etc. In this true "country of the gods" fraud, deception, violence, perjury, litigation, bloodshed or war never reared its hideous head It was approaching true civilization.

If told of wonderful conquest with the accompanying bloody battlefields, civil wars, etc., in other nations the Bétiques would ask in bland astonishment, whether life among such people was too long, or regarded as a curse, and therefore used war as a remedy? Why they propagated their species only to slaughter each other in battle, or make each other's life unbearable in time of peace? They could not understand how a great conqueror could be honored or admired, or, how people would want to be governed when such meant terror, deprivation, want, and misery to nearly all? And for the perpetrators of all this to feel it an honor to be such? Where is the satisfaction in governing people at all against their will? Are they not mere slaves? A conqueror can only be a scourge in human form! (How's that Teddie, et al?) Can he discover no other merit in life than that of subjugating, enslaving, violating, and the tyranizing over a peaceful people? War, they declared, is only permissible in defending the peoples' liberty, and only truly happy is he who, consenting to be nobody's slave, will neither enslave his neighbor:. "Give no offense to others and others will not wantonly give you offense," is one of their mottos, applied among themselves as well as to their neighbors, and as a result they are highly respected by other nations, who, indeed have often beseeched the sage Bétiques to act as arbitrators for them in their disputes among themselves. As to their sex relations they found that, after some years of experience, monogamy was the most durable and satisfactory marriage system all around, and was therefore lastingly adopted and adhered to.

Here we are, therefore, with a great and good archbishop's opinion on government; written and spread by him in one of the

most despotic kingdoms the world ever knew, more than two hundred years ago; when men were still feudal lords and serfs, and the Bastille was in full swing. Yet he was free to express and spread his contempt for "organized government" (alias organized violence). And today in this self-styled "greatest and freest republic on earth," the only remaining "free" one where mere suspects are still tortured, lynched, and burned alive "free" at the stake, and the rulers are more vainglorious of being "rough-riders" than lovers of common justice or the fulfillers of sworn-to duties; (see Watterson for further particulars) where a mercenary, subsidized press and a cowardly public silently listen to the hoarse brawl that comes in time of peace from brutal military and monetary threats: "To hell with the constitution," and "The public be damned," —yes, in this modern, political anachronism—a plutocratic republic—our good archbishop of two hundred years ago would today be deported or thrown into an iron cage like a wild beast for having opinions—tho according to "law," if he dared to enter, if only on a visit, the "greatest and freest republic on earth."

Some, even Anarchists, call this progress. I don't. Other would-be wiseacres call it evolution. I don't, unless it be evolution from bad to worse. Personally, I believe the twentieth century will have to be called the mad one before long.

To the unbiased thinker it would all seem a farce, if there wasn't so much tragedy in it.

F. CAMBENSY.

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To the Workers.

FREE SOCIETY is doing its task with admirable effort. Why do people grumble that it doesn't do enough in the practical, worldly way to bring about the practise of its beautiful ideal? The fault lies with the people. Why do they submit to work, work, work, be ground to death, be shot, strangled, to get blows and kicks from a few rascals?

Life in this world is short, my brothers and sisters, but life is earnest, oh dreadfully earnest. Why can't you, oh worker, sit by your cosy fire, your pantry full of life's plenty? The cold wind blows without, the hail beats against the windows, hunger dares not come near your home, but Anarchism is there.

Consider again the other side. You get up early, the fire is out! "Heavens, I must earn something today," you cry.

You plod thru the snow, the cold wind creeps thru your bones, the frost bites you with savage glee. But no, you must work; there are loved ones at home who wait for you. You must take what your boss offers. No "kicking." Why does he sit at home and eat, drink the choicest wines, and smoke cigars of the best quality? Who gave him the right to be boss over you?

You work on blindly. Some of you go under the earth, into dark mines to dig up precious coal, nature's gift to all humanity. Death smiles horribly, blows a breath of poisonous gas thru the foul holes, a flash, a thundering crash, and all is over. A few mortals out of misery! A few I say, but two or three hundred miners killed in an explosion is common. When the mine-owner hears of it, he grumbles. For the workers maybe? No, not for *them*, they can easily be replaced by others. Death always finds plenty of victims, and willing ones, too. He (the mine owner) but thinks of the expense of repairs, that's what he is worrying over.

Again, who gave the few scoundrels the privilege of standing on a piece of land, and to say, "it's mine." Certainly not nature, it's against the way of nature. Don't be so foolish, oh worker, as to think that it is the natural thing for you to be governed, robbed and swindled out of what is your own.

Don't be a fool because your ancestors were. Don't bow your head for a tyrant to put his foot on it. No, when he comes near you, raise your good right arm, that nature intended for your protection, and forcibly show the rascal that you're a man, and not an ass or a donkey. "The worm may yet turn and bite the foot that treads it into dust," but you, oh workers, you represent a giant, who looks about him stupidly while a venemous insect gnaws at his vitals. His blood pours out in a steady pool, when he could stop all this by just stretching forth his mighty arm, and by a mere turn of the finger could put an end to the gnawing insect and his pain.

Again you crawl on all fours; a veritable Hercules you are, and yet you allow a pigmy to lash you, without ever raising your eyes in protest.

Worker, you are powerful, but you don't use that power to free yourself.

FREE SOCIETY can't free you by printing millions of noble encouragements if you don't help yourself.

Pause but a day from your work, and the rich are undone. The world comes to a standstill, all death-machines like factories stop. The rich are poor, they run hither and thither awakened from their comfortable dreams. They cry "What's the matter?" Much is the matter; the day has come when the toiler will awake to a sense of his degradation, and fight for his rights.

Life in this world is short, fight for your children's future. Make the best of your strength. Every mortal has got to die, and early indeed do they die. They could live and enjoy life, but they don't realize their weakness. Policemen are men, soldiers are men. If they but knew what Anarchism is, and were sure of their allies in the guise of workers, they would choke the life out of government. Oh, but if they would!

They don't know what Anarchism is. They only know the newspaper version of a red shirted fiend, who wants to kill their bosses. If these bosses were dead, then the cops would be out of their jobs, and they think they will starve, as do the soldiers, and so they uphold government. Don't blame them—blame the workers.

But no, don't blame the workers, for they are blinded by ignorance and superstition, but blame their spirit of submission.

Philadelphia, Pa. A. MAN.

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Echoes.

The feudalism of capital is not a whit less formidable than the feudalism of force. The millionare of today is as dangerous to society as was the baronial lord of the middle ages. I may as well be dependent for my head as for my bread. The time is sure to come when men will look back upon the prerogative of capital with as just and severe condemnation as we now look back on the predatory chieftains of the dark ages. —*Horace Mann.*

* * *

There is one minister in Paterson, N. J., who has the right metal in him. When he learned that the authorities had closed the halls of the city to speakers who wished to discuss the detention and deportation of John Turner, he offered the use of his pulpit for that purpose, and at an early date Mr. Bolton Hall and Mr. Arthur Pleydell will occupy the sacred desk. Times have changed since every pulpit in Boston was closed to Garrison, and that advocate of freedom of the slave was at liberty to speak nowhere but from the platform of Abner Kneeland, the Freethinker.—*Truth Seeker*

* * *

Again a capitalistic wholsale slaughter. Burned, horribly disfigured, there lay about two hundred miners in a Pennsylvania mine. Judging from the reports—the news of disaster in which the toilers suffer loss of life are always meagre—it was known that the mine contained gas, and endangered the lives of the workers. Six months ago the mine had been inspected, but a part of the report has vanished! It is useless to look for words of indignation. America, the land of "boundless contingencies," is a capitalist State in the true sense of the term. The frequent "accidents" of wholesale manslaughter are the product of inconsiderate and murderous capitalism which has no regard for human life when it is a matter of making profits. So long as the tyrannical rule of Mammon exists, so long will the toilers be forced to sacrifice their lives for the capitalistic monster and such wholesale murder be repeated. The judicial farce which eventually follows—see the investigation of the Iroquois theatre fire—will not alter these things. It only serves to quiet the conscience of the "good" and "decent" people.—Martin Drescher.

* * *

"A handful of fools with whom an energetic government can deal easily." This has ever been the contention of the adherents of fossilized ideas against the heralds of new and unconventional teachings. To them the early Christians were a handful of fools. A handful of fools were the followers of Luther, who revolted against Rome. The founders and champions of modern Socialism, which repudiates private property in the means of production, and intends to establish collectivism, were looked upon as a handful of fools. Today there are yet many who look upon the Anarchists, whose object is to free mankind from violence, statutes, authority, in order that the path for a natural development may be cleared, as a handful of fools. History has often enough demonstrated what such a handful of fools, who truly and firmly aspire after an ideal even in face of death, can accomplish. Not numbers make ideas victorious, but the invincible faith in the ideal, and the indefatigable ardor and ability to imbue people with the ideal. that it may take deep and firm roots in the hearts of the zealous combatants, so that no indifference, no tepidity, no cowardice can stifle them. The wiseacres may ridi-

cule the handful of fools, whose aim is to transform the world from the bottom up, they may mock at the utopias of Socialists and Anarchists—all new thoughts have been looked upon by the masses as utopian and an offspring of deranged minds, until they assert themselves,—and then all at once they are accepted by all as the most natural and rational views.—Martin Drescher.

* * *

Most of the talk about "the dignity of labor" is mere mockery. It is like that other phrase, now so common in plutocratic circles, about "liberty to work." In truth, labor is dignified, in the nature of things; but it is not dignified in the estimation of society. That society dignifies it, is the untruth to which our plutocracy tries to give currency as truth. They want a contented menial class upon whose labor they may luxuriously live, and this is one of the little confidence games they play upon the unsophisticated. In truth, also, liberty to work is an inherent right. But that is not what the plutocrats and their parasites, clerical and lay, mean when they talk of "liberty to work." All they mean is that trade union rules must not be allowed to obstruct liberty to work; they do not object to the obstructions of monopolistic laws. It is simply a case of whose ox is gored. If it is "my ox," then "liberty to work" is an obvious right; but if it is "your ox," then the principle of liberty to work raises very complex questions which, tho they may be solved some ages hence, "thru much pain and suffering," are only academic now!—*The Public.*

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The Old Chestnut: "Good Government."

Belle Plaine, Kans., Jan. 28, 1904.

Sir,—Enclosed find fifty cents * money order as good as gold, made so by our government and law which you are spending your life's work to tear down. If the conditions existed as you and your followers advocate I could not send this to you. If you would exert your energies in the interest of temperance, industry, economy, honesty, good laws, and good government, you would do good for your fellow man in place of harm. Your cause leads to disord, dishonor, degradation, misery, poverty, heathenism, and revolution. And the day will come when such writings as yours, and such sheets as you publish, will not be tolerated.

A. G. FORNEY.

Reply.

Mr. Forney is apparently afflicted with the "freest-country-on-the-globe" disease, which is now raging in this country, or else he would know that his beloved postoffice, as it now exists, has been brought about by the initiative of intelligent individuals, who were persecuted because they endeavored to establish more rational and cheaper means of communication than the goverment was affording. And, as is always the case, government only made the innovation after public sentiment forced it to do so. In short, if Mr. Forney would be awake, he would ere this have realized that government has ever been a stumbling-block to progress, as eminent writers have pointed out, and that every advancement in society has been wrested from it at the cost of imprisonment and bloodshed.

The task that Mr. Forney endeavors to put on the Anarchist shoulders, viz., to "exert" our "energies in the interest of good laws and good government," goes beyond our strength. The achievements of the oldest governments known in the orient, such as Turkey and Egypt, are not at all encouraging, nor are the European governments very promising in this respect, altho some of the oriental rulers and exploiters have been preaching temperance, economy, and honesty (to their slaves of course) for thousands of years, yet the good results are not in evidence. In this country people have exerted their energies in a so-called republic for over one hundred years to inject all the "virtues" imaginable into the government and its laws, and if the tree is to be judged by its fruit, things are not only going from bad to worse, but threaten to excel even the conditions of Russia and Turkey. And if the virtues of "honesty, good laws and good government," which Mr. Forney so ardently believes in, continue to assert themselves, judging from the past and present, I am inclined to believe that Mr. Forney's prophecy will come true. Before long we will have the "dark ages" inaugurated in this country where no expression of thought, unless it be sanctioned by Church or State, will be *tolerated*. Then no "discord" and "misery" will disturb Mr. Forney's mind. Sitting comfortably on the veranda of a Kansas country house, he will be lulled to sleep by the illuminated sky of the *auto da fé* and the groans of heretics in the torture-chamber.

A. I.

* This money was due FREE SOCIETY for a subscription. A. I.

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From Near and Far.

According to *Freiheit*, Comrade Turner's case will not be argued in the Supreme Court before October.

The reduction of wages in the mills of the Carnegie Steel Company, which the workers will accept without striking, means a saving of $12,000,000 a year to the company.

In Rochester, N. Y., the organized carpenters are to be tried for having "conspired to raise wages." In order to maintain "equality before the law" the dailies will undoubtedly now urge that all manufacturers who reduced wages be charged with conspiracy.

Military barbarism is still rampant in the Colorado mining regions, yet neither the unorganized American "sovereigns" nor organized labor protest against the tyranny raging there. But the "defenders of the fatherland" revolt because both the mine-owners and the State fail to dig up the money these "heroes in blue" were promised, and that is why the soldiers are to be withdrawn.

The convention held last Sunday by the comrades of this city will probably result in a greater unity among the different nationalities than has hitherto been the case, which would certainly greatly envigorate the propaganda. It was unanimously the opinion that a greater activity in the way of Anarchist propaganda should be developed among trades unions, but no ways and means were divised so far. On account of the late hour, the Anarchist press found but little consideration. A timid attempt was made by the "group-control" fanatics to bring the question before the audience, whether a group which assists a paper financially should not have the right to control its contents, but the effort met with no approval.

The city of Bilboa, Spain, is quiet once more, but the signs of the three days' riot will remain for some time to come. The pavements, torn up by the workmen to build barricades with the stones, can not be put down at once for want of money, and at night the city is unlighted, as the rioters destroyed the gas lanterns and electric arc lights. The better class of meat and grocery stores are putting in new "fronts," all their show windows, signs, etc., having been destroyed.

The place where the Jesuit cloister stood is an open lot, covered with broken pillars, statues and masonry. The workmen used fire engines to fill the building with kerosene, and then fired it at several points. A very valuable library was burned up, together with other treasure. An eye-witness told your correspondent that the rioters meant to burn the Jesuit fathers in their own monastery; but the frightened priests appealed for aid by toiling the tocsin. The military arrived just in the nick of time.

The rioters had burst in the massive gate of the monastery with dynamite, and were driving the priests before them to the top of the house, where they would have died of smoke and flames, when a strong body of troops rescued the priests and their disciples. They took them in their midst and conducted them to the commandent's palace, while the rioters reviled them in every possible way. The cloister of the Trinitarians was likewise mobbed and in part demolished. The monks had to flee for their lives over the roofs, and several fell and injured themselves mortally.

The hospitals harbor some one hundred and twenty-five persons, men woman and children, injured in the riot. Twenty are dead. The workmen were assisted on the barricades by their wives and children who carried stones and ammunition to them, and a number of women and little ones were hurt. The military killed and wounded many people who had remained in their own houses, the Mauser bullets passing successively thru several obstacles, striking them down at their own fireside.

Today the workmen are jubliant, for they won their case against the rapacious mine owners. The workmen, as well as public opinion in general, blame the bosses for the bloodshed and property destroyed. Their disagreement with the workmen ought to have been peacefully arranged, it is said, seeing that the workmen asked no more than that their wages be paid weekly instead of monthly. This the operators refused to do because, by holding back the pay, the workmen could be invegeled into spending the greater part of their earnings at the company's stores. The first thing the rioters did was to destroy the company stores, appropriate the goods found and march the managers and clerks out of town, promising to kill them if they ever dared return. While the city was in the hands of the rioters all saloons were kept closed by them and telegraphic and telephonic communication was cut off. Railway travel was forbidden and the tracks were destroyed. No man could leave and no ship was permitted to pass out of the harbor.

On the whole, the workmen kept excellent order and confiscated only eatables which were systematically distributed among the poor.—*Globe Democrat.*

FREE SOCIETY

Formerly THE FIREBRAND.

Published Weekly by FREE SOCIETY Group.
A. ISAAK,.....Editor.

ONE DOLLAR A YEAR.

Address all Communications and make all Money Orders payable to FREE SOCIETY, 407 PARK AVE., Chicago, Ill.

Entered at the Chicago post office as second-class matter, October 29, 1901.

The publishers as such are not necessarily in agreement with any opinions expressed by the contributors.

ANARCHY—A social theory which regards the union of order with the absence of all direct government of man by man as the political ideal; absolute individual liberty.—Century Dictionary.

CHICAGO, SUNDAY, FEBRUARY 14, 1904.

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If these figures correspond with the number printed on the wrapper of your FREE SOCIETY, your subscription expires with this number.

Notes.

Friends are requested to give us the names of persons who are likely to be interested in FREE SOCIETY, that we may send them sample copies.

* * *

To anyone sending us $2 we will send FREE SOCIETY one year and Dr. Greer's "A Physician in the House" or his new work "The Wholesome Woman." Also to anyone sending us one new subscriber and $2 we will send the same. This applies to renewals as well as new subscriptions.

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For Chicago.

The Sociological League meets every Sunday evening, 8 p.m. sharp, in Jefferson Hall, Fraternity Bldg., 70 Adams St. Admission 10 cents. Sunday, Feb. 14, A. Isaak will reply to Lucy Parsons' lecture on "Trades Unionism."

* * *

Liberty Group meets every Thursday, 8 p. m., at 427 Park Ave., corner Western Ave., for business and social purposes. Saturday, Feb. 13, 8 p.m., a social gathering will take place. All friends are welcome.

—o—

From the Lips of Liberty.

Law is an armed lie.

* * *

All good acts are voluntary.

* * *

Ease is always crying "Peace."

* * *

The "next step" is not backward.

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They who seek honor must forget truth.

* * *

Love of the beautiful makes us love liberty.

* * *

The worst habits are habits of submission.

* * *

Without sexual freedom there is no other freedom.

* * *

The strength of the strongest is often stolen strength.

* * *

The Petrel, tho it makes a great noise, is rather weak of wing.

Only the free-minded will untiringly struggle against repression.

* * *

The light of liberty shines so brightly that it dazzles some eyes. But bats and owls are not men.

* * *

If war between the mikado and the czar takes place, both States will breathe freely for a while, for the air will reek with patriotism.

* * *

The most popular of journals is likely to be one which does not ask you to think; but the issue of our battle will owe little to either ignorance or indolence.

* * *

The light of *Lucifer* bids fair to shine again a one dollar a year the person; the postal authorities being mysteriously moved to reconsider their inquisitorial act.

* * *

The emblem worn in memory of McKinley is a carnation. Had the war with Spain and the subduing of the Philippines anything to do with the choice of the color?

* * *

Altruism is the science of deriving happiness from the misery of others, while egoism is the science of deriving misery from the happiness of others. The spirit of solidarity knows neither of these false lights.

* * *

Church and State stand together. The Church teaches submission to the State, and the State in turn exempts the Church from all taxation. The bargain thus struck smells of the hell wherein it was consummated.

* * *

The mayor of Sheboygan has been excommunicated by the Socialist party because he ignored Socialist principles after attaining to office. But the mayor of Sheboygan is consistent; it being the soul of all political theory that might makes right.

* * *

The New York *Truth Seeker* has been denied Canadian mail privileges, and its northern subscribers must go without the paper. It may be seen from this that government control of the mails is an excellent thing—for the government. But the people? Oh, never mind the people.

* * *

Economic rent, about the disbursement of which Single Taxers are so agitated, is an abnormal factor of social conditions, and disappears in the crucible of mutuality with the abolition of rent, interest and profit in general. That is, land values disappear with the disappearance of monopoly.

* * *

King Edward opened his parliament with a speech in which self-adulation was mingled with the usual expression of concern about "my people and my interests." A man of Edward's experience and knowledge of the world looks doubly ridiculous asserting the divine right of kings and all the other royal nonsense. But while the British people take him seriously at so much a year he will probably bear it with unruffled equanimity.

* * *

The Anarchist movement is a world movement; and this despite the fact that there is a class struggle. The class struggle is a minor factor comparatively speaking; the major factor is the struggle of the race against the bondage of ignorance and custom, which is personified by the State.

* * *

The *Public*, getting somewhat away from the erstwhile peaceful spirit which characterized its utterances and attitude, begins to suggest Gen. Nelson A. Miles as democratic candidate for president; but its action brings it nearer to the true spirit of politics, which is the war spirit; so it is at least consistent in putting a soldier forward as a vote attractor.

* * *

Anarchism finds the grounds of human progress in the desire for liberty, assured that social life in all its beneficial phases will follow from the establishment of liberty. The free man being free to test all that is and "hold fast that which is good" will not throw away anything which can prove its worth, any more than a hungry man would refuse to eat.

* * *

A Chicago lecturer paid by the *Daily News*, Dr. C. G. Davis, declares that Anarchy is "the blossom of alcoholism extending back over centuries of time." In view of the immense amount of drinking, past and present, then, there should certainly be many more Anarchists than there are. Perhaps the doctor's opinions are the blossom of assanity extending back to the days of the first ass that brayed.

* * *

A firecracker smoldering within the precincts of a royal residence in Spain started an Anarchist hunt there recently. Really, for downright idiocy your modern king guardian cannot be surpassed. He smells plots in a call to breakfast and detects bombs in the wine bottles which drive boredom from the king's dinner table. The weakling who sits upon the back of Spain must have, even with his spark of intelligence, an amused contempt for those who work to keep his skin whole.

* * *

While in Russia, W. J. Bryan spent a few hours with Tolstoy, and in an interview published since his return to America, the Nebraskan, while carefully avoiding any reference to Anarchism, pronounces Tolstoy an advocate of the Single Tax. Why this duplicity on the part of Bryan? In his "The Slavery of Our Times" the great Russian unequivocally condems the State in all its forms and workings. The interview appeared in the Hearst papers, which Tolstoy has branded as having lied about him before.

* * *

The Zionist movement, whose two popular advocates, I. Zangwill and Max Nordau, have done a great deal to interest Jews in it, is a movement which will rather exaggerate than diminish the difficulties of the Jewish race. Modern industrial and economic conditions will follow the Jews wherever they go, and if universal exploitation replaces mere race hatred, where will be the gain? The Jew has had plentiful instruction in the evils of government in general;

while he is on the road to Anarchism, to turn back even to a purely Jewish government, will but be to exchange old evils for new ones.

* * *

The Sherman law has been a laughing stock for the trusts since it was enacted, but the Elkins bill was passed in order to avoid imprisonment of trust magnates in case that by mischance any of them happened to be convicted. Roosevelt signed the Elkins bill. Now comes Senator Foraker, to end the whole matter with a bill providing that railroads be exempted from all the provisions of the Sherman bill. Such is the State, or rather such are the State's means to defeat the laws which public clamor has caused it to pass.

* * *

Congressman Foss of Illinois is working in the House of Representatives for the establishment of a labor commission consisting of six members, who shall *offer* their services as a board of arbitration in any dispute between labor and capital. The bill as presented provides that five of the members shall receive eight thousand dollars a year each, while the secretary is paid four thousand. The people are to pay for all this, as well as for traveling expenses and the services of clerks. This new scheme of salary grabbing will be hailed with delight by some; others will see in it but fresh evidence of governmental jobbery and corruption. AMERICUS.

—o—

By the Wayside.

The notorious murderer, Ex Sheriff Martin, who five years ago, wantonly murdered twenty-two unarmed miners, has been appointed mining inspector of certain districts in Pennsylvania. This appointment is, of course, intended to defy organized labor, which protested against it, but it also exposes the brutal vulgarity of the self-styled American aristocracy.

* * *

Prof. Robert Baird, of the Northwestern University, claims that the American woman is physically and mentally better developed than her sisters in other countries, "and has a broader outlook on life and a keener intellectual vision," which is due to the liberty she enjoys. "American women are the freest in the world," he exclaims, and "they are not abusing their freedom, but using it wisely." Good! That's just what we Anarchists claim. Let's get ride of State and Church tyranny, and the beneficial effects of freedom will soon be impressed upon the face of every man, woman, and child.

* * *

The Petrel has made its appearance in order to "fill a want now seriously felt," according to the announcement of the editors, who are evidently sincere in "elucidating" their "ideas in a manner and style" which, I think, are not adapted to promote the cause of freedom. Yet, as Lincoln said: "For those who like that sort of thing, it is a very good sort of thing." But, tho its columns are "permeated with a more revolutionary [?—A. I.] spirit," it has not found the approbation of those comrades for whom the "now appearing journals" were "too philosophical," and not making Anarchists fast enough. They are still in the uncomfortable predicament of being compelled to store their surplus energy and filthy lucre. Let us hope that a genius capable of publishing a paper which will transform the workers into Anarchists if they merely touch it, while he lives on wind-pudding, of course, will soon appear to relieve their distress.

* * *

The *Machinists' Journal* very appropriately points out that, above all things, the workers need education, so that they may realize that it is their own ignorance which prevents them from asserting their power; that "the labor movement is not a movement of mere dollars and cents, but a movement toward higher ideals and the uplifting of mankind"; that "the toilers must be their own redeemers" and that "succor can only come from themselves." But when the editor adds that labor "must work out its own salvation at the ballot-box," and that "lawless acts have never yet assisted the cause of labor," he only evidences the fact that he is sadly in need of education; for he ought to know at least that there would be no trades unionism in this country if it was not for the "lawless acts" committed by the pioneers of organized labor in this country, and that every radical change in society has been achieved in defiance of "law and order." This republic is the result of "lawlessness" and "violence," and had the revolutionists not been successful they would have been hanged for treason. As to the efficiency of the ballot-box, the editor should read Kropotkin's "Representative Government" and refute the arguments therin made regarding the futility of legislative reforms, for the benefit of his readers, or else frankly acknowledge his lack of thoroness in sociology.

* * *

"I refuse to obey a law I believe wrong," said Mayor Jones in a public address. "The most criminal things we have are our courts. By our system of fines people receive punishment for being poor. The *Inter Ocean* resentfully reprints these statements, asserting that the "foundation of our free government is the equality of all men before the law," which statement, of course, the editor does not believe himself.

"The meshes of that monstrous net called the statute are of a miraculous kind," the *Arbeiter Zeitung* says in a commentary on said equality before the law. "If an insignificant little fish, which indulges in a forbidden manner, happens to fall into it, the meshes are impenetrably closed. But if a fish of prey is ever caught, then they become so large that even the most shapeless shark can easily slip thru.

"This is an old maxim and the consolation of every well-to-do criminal. Lately it has again been conspicuously verified. Governor Odell of New York refused to surrender the millionaire and baking-powder manufacturer, William Ziegler, who is charged with having bribed the legislature of Missouri. The sensitive governor says Ziegler is not a fugitive from justice according to law and it has not been proven that he was in Missouri when he was supposed to have committed the crime.

"What nice prospects are thus revealed for the capitalists who depend upon the friendly aid of legislative bodies! With a peaceful mind they can now continue the profitable bribing business. They only must keep out of the states where the legislatures are to be worked upon, and have the bargain consummated by cunning agents.

"In Chicago the labor leaders who have once spoken in meetings are to be made responsible for all contingencies of trouble and to be punished as the intellectual authors. But capitalists can bribe and induce the entire legislature to violate its duties with impunity. Indeed, the meshes of the most curious of all nets—the law—are of a perplexing and peculiar construction."

INTERLOPER.

—o—

The Thomas Paine Commemoration in San Francisco.

Some watery resolutions, slightly diluted with milk, were put to the meeting, but no discussion was allowed. One man in the gallery addressed the chairman, but was immediately shut off, which gave one the impression of a Free Thought Very Limited Association. A lady told us "the world wanted another saviour." We had thought that, as Jesus is said to have been the seventeenth savior, born without man's assistance, and had not saved the world, it was about time for each to do their saving. But we may be wrong.

Appropriate resolutions were handed to the chairman by the writer, demanding from Roosevelt an apology for calling Thomas Paine "a filthy little atheist" and the immediate release of John Turner from Ellis Island, and calling attention of the grinding conditions existing today in this country; but nothing was heard of them and we thought this peculiar, because in opening the meeting he had explained that all the evils from which we suffer exist because a set of men take it upon themselves to do all the thinking for all the rest, having decided that only the elect few can think, and the masses shall not.

The reading of the pro-offered resolutions would not have taken six minutes, but time was so valuable that only one encore was allowed response, and that was the "dancing girl"; but by our stars!! if the dancer had possessed the underpinnings of the "reciter," judging the audience and management by this incident, it would not have mattered had there only been no resolutions, which really would have been no loss, for they were so cussedly stupid as to call on our "representatives" in Congress to take up the matter of John Turner. Fancy! they actually think they are represented among the nation's lawmakers! Oh law, oh law. Really, this is too much for a "free people."

Roosevelt's damnable vilification of Paine, was not referred to, in fact, the meeting painfully lacked all the characteristics of a Thomas Paine. KINGHORN JONES.

—o—

San Francisco.

An opportunity for Anarchist propaganda is now offered at the "Golden Gate Senate Debating Forum," in Friendship Hall, Oddfellows' Bldg., every Sunday, 7:30 p. m.

Feb. 14—"Is Socialism Bound to Come?"

Feb. 21—"Has Anarchism Anything to Recommend?"

Anarchist and Socialist speakers will clash on these dates.

What the Little Chair Thinks.

I have no intention of persecuting a dying man. Comrade James must excuse persecutors if they get the impression that the dying man is exceedingly well able to take care of himself in a newspaper controversy, and does not at all need to be treated as an object of pity. In the present case there has been much to encourage the formation of such an opinion.

In one sense I did mean to persecute, if you like to call it so. Comrade James avows that he has of late, in order that he may be listened to as a teacher, been beginning to try to get the reputation of having learned something and therefore presumably knowing something. Whether he tried or not, he has certainly been getting more or less of this reputation. It is doubtless unkind to go to work to break up such a reputation; nevertheless, an ambition like this is a sort of running for public office, which makes it no longer a libel for any one to present sincere reasons why the man should not be thought fit for the office to which he aspires. Now it seems to me that Comrade James is well fitted for an instructor in methods and a suggestar of results, but that a man walks among quicksands and precipices when he begins to take James for an authority on results; and I see some folks being tempted into this danger—therefore I warn. The point is well made in a recent article signed "C. L. James:"

> . . . . to impose the same selection upon great multitudes of minds. A dangerous honor! for most of these will forget the difference between the lightning and the sun, and call their momentary glimpse of a few things infinity and eternity, at least until another flash surprises them. A responsible gift too, for it is these fulminations of individual mind which dazzle the blind multitude, causing them to walk in darkness like their fathers.

When I see such a thing happening, is it strange if I, like Browning in "La Saisiaz," feel a great desire to blow a counterblast?

> O the sorriest of conclusions to whatever man of sense
> Mid the millions stands the unit, takes no flare for evidence!
> Yet the millions have their portion, live their calm or troublous day,
> Find significance in fireworks; so, by help of mine, they may
> Confidently lay to heart and lock in head their life long—this:
> He there, with the brand flamboyant o'er Eau Claire's forlorn abyss,
> Crowned with prose and verse, and wielding, with Wit's bauble, Learning's rod—
> Well? why, he at least is not infallibly inspired by God!

This is one reason why I made the criticism in which he finds certain things to object to; yet I think my main motive was, because he had been repeating certain current or plausible falsehoods which gain currency by repetition, and need to be hoed up by contradiction. Now may I pass to one or two of these objections of his?

He insists that taboo was an invention of the priests, and this he now proves by a chain of five links, whereof the fourth is "Except kings, the primitive legislators are priests." But this fourth premise is denied in advance: when I challenged his statement, I at the same time said that I challenged it especially because this was typical of his error in generally ignoring the fact that the populace are primitive legislators. When the answer to his argument has thus been given in advance, he ought to direct his reply to that answer.

He says I am charging him with a dogmatism which he does not intend when I talk about his treating insufficient evidence as proof. I may have been guilty, and if so it was a discreditable guilt; but I think my words will bear another sense. When one takes an insufficiently proved fact as a basis for deducing another fact by another argument which again falls short of absolute cogency, and so on, the result very speedily is that, altho each step of the argument is more probably valid than not, the conclusion is more probably invalid than valid. To take the simplest possible instance, if the odds are two to one that the name "Jehovah" means "Eternal" (contrary to the opinion prevalent among those scholars who take the most modern standpoint), and if the odds are again two to one that the prophets' use of a divine name whose etymology was "Eternal," showed their possession of a higher religious ideal than that of the priests, then the odds are five to four that the man who puts two and two together and says: "The prophets' use of the name Jehovah shows their higher religious ideal" is arguing falsely. In fact the matter does not stop here, for the argument in question rests on the assumption (in the teeth of history) that the use of the name Jehovah was characteristic of the prophets in contrast to the priests; and if we assume that this again is twice as likely to be true as false, the result is that the whole argument—of which each step was twice as likely to be sound as unsound—is two and three eighths times as likely to be unsound as sound. A logical chain of imperfect links is not by a long way as strong as its weakest link. When a man nevertheless presents such an argument as a sound one—for instance, when in this matter of reconstructing lost history one takes an accepted result of the science, which has been arrived at by a proof that was merely presumptive, as basis for a further presumptive inference—it is reasonable to infer that he does not realize the weakness of his grounds, or he would see the strong presumption that he is talking nonsense. But such is the almost inevitable method of reconstructing the history of prehistoric times: and not least, I am sure, in the case of James. I know that the particular point I have cited was used by him in the way of illustration rather than of proof; but this and one or two other unlucky incursions into the Hebrew language have stuck in my memory, because they happened to be right on my ground, while stronger instances have been forgotten.

He rejects outright Winthrop's testimony to Anarchism among the first settlers of Rhode Island, as coming from an enemy. There you see our difference of method. I hold that a direct, plausible, public, contemporary statement by an intelligent man, even tho that man be prejudiced, is a long way better evidence than such presumptions, even if genuine, as Comrade James thinks sufficient to establish the origin of taboo.

He gets excited over my demand for examples of organizations formed for exclusively "non-invasive" defense, which became "invasive." He asks me: "Did you ever hear 'em read the Declaration of Independence?" Yes,—and, by the way, I know the difference between the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution; but, taking the Declaration by itself, I have read it enough to know that it did not purport to create or alter or declare any relation between the people of America and the governments of America, but only a relation between these governments (which had been instituted long before, on an undisguisedly invasive basis) and another government. "Ever know of a government which did not set up for a terror to evil-doers and a praise to them that do well?" I know enough to know that a government which sets up for a terror to evil-doers cannot possibly set up to confine itself to non-invasive functions. "Is there any other theory of government than that it is instituted to protect men in their equal rights to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness?" I step across the room and take down a volume by old President Fairchild of Oberlin College, which was my text book when I studied under him, and find that among the fundamental "grounds of the need of government" is the need of restraining men's proneness to "neglect their own true interests as well as to "disregard each other's interest's"; take notice, interests as well as rights.)

I had suspected that James had a very weak case in this respect, but I am nevertheless surprised at the utter eggshelliness of this paragraph of his. I can hardly explain it except on the assumption that he not only finds some difficulty, like all of us, in drawing the line between invasion and non-invasion in certain marginal cases, but lacks even the most general notion of the meaning of the word. At any rate, if this is the best he has to say, it is clear that his recent arguments against Comrade Simpson amounted simply to a pretense of having evidence which he had not.

He associates me with the assertion that he is not an honest man. I guess this is a bit of the Machiavellian policy which he sometimes commends. He knows that these people who go about discovering dishonesty are inveterate finders of Mares' nests, and he hopes first to fix this on me and then to get back at me with "You're another" for my intimation that he had found one or two mares' nests. I won't go into the trap; I decline to be listed among the dishonesty-hunters.

I am sorry to note by his answer to another critic that he has not at hand any more reliable statistical authority than Mulhall. I am afraid his admirers will think they have his authority for thinking that Mulhall is a reliable work, instead of being a very convenient compilation in which reliability has been sacrificed to convenience.

STEVEN T. BYINGTON.

—— o ——

Because they Were Asses.

The monkeys, being as lazy as you and I, began to ride the donkeys. A big monkey would ride in front of the herd; this he called "being their leader"; altho, since the donkeys were strong, he had in the end to go the way the donkeys wished.

Sometimes the donkeys kicked. Then the monkeys called them "Anarchists."

The monkeys grew so fat and heavy that the asses had no strength remaining to get their own food.

They began to complain, and to seek for causes and cures. A sweet girl monkey said: "I will take them some flowers to allay their discontent—we will establish a flower mission." The monkeys subscribed liberally.

A dear little monkey added: "I will hold a charity fair, which will raise enough from the benevolent apes to send some of the young asses' colts to the field for a week." The monkeys called that "enlightened charity." A long-eared monkey cried: "No, preach temperance; those beasts of asses drink so much that they have no time to eat and nothing to eat in the time if they had it." The monkeys restricted the sale of drink—to asses.

A big ass said: "What we need is a high wall around us so as to keep out pauper hay—then the monkeys will give us employment cultivating hay fields, and pay us with some of the hay. The monkeys made a wall so close that the asses could not see thru it. Said a small donkey: "We need cheaper money so that we can buy some leisure time from the monkeys who make the money." The monkeys did not like this—they were only monkeys.

"Now," said an ecclesiastical ape, "Sin is at the bottom of all this. These monkeys are on top of you because your hearts are corrupt." So he preached to the monkeys about the depravity of donkeys.

"I have discovered," said a mule, "that it is because the lower-class animals are lazy—too lazy to graze—that is why all this want and suffering exists." (The monkeys made the mule a professor.)

Still the asses kicked.

"Have we not done all we could for you?" said the monkeys. "What you really need is a strong government, to provide formidable arms for us, and to insure the stability of the social order. Then the asses voted additional appropriations for all these things, and many enlisted in the "National Guard."

The monkeys had the spending of the money.—*Bolton Hall.*

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Woman's Emancipation.

I would like to say a few words in regard to Maud Stearns' suggestion of an association where, by liberal-minded women might extend a hand of comradeship and sympathy to each other. To my mind such an organization, even if carried on in a very simple manner, would be a great help in spreading the doctrine of freedom. What chance have the majority of the young women of today to learn of freedom. Very little or none. I think my own experience in that line is the experience of many. Brought up by loving parents to walk in the time-honored paths of my ancestors, hedged in by conventionalities, taught in the most orthodox style, the reading of liberal literature stamped as almost a crime, I had not much chance to learn of freedom. But that part which is innate in every human breast could not be quenched and the time-honored laws and customs became more and more galling. As the misery and pain of life became forced in upon me, I began to ask the why and wherefore of it all. The sex question which is the most binding on woman became the most interesting to me. The black evils of prostitution, the white-worn faces of hard-worked mothers, the feverish empty lives of society women, the broken hearts and oft-time suicide of the loving, trusting girls, and the grind of the divorce court were all dangerous signals that told of the futility of the so-called sacred marriage institution. But with all the unrest and weary perplexity of my mind in those days I might have gone on in the same old rut if it had not been for two lovers of freedom who held out their lamp of truth and showed me the path of liberty. And as I commenced to climb out of the darkness that surrounded me, I began to wish that I might help others, and Maud's suggestion seemed like an inspiration.

I think an association could be started on a very simple yet helpful plan, if some one who is capable, would outline a course of reading, and anyone who wished to take the matter up in their own homes could invite their friends to friendly evening meetings, to read and discuss all liberal questions. A correspondence could be established between such bands for the interchange of literature, ideas, essays, etc. Such a correspondence would lead to pleasant and helpful friendships whereby many might be helped in their stand for freedom; for, contrary to comrade Lydia's opinion, I think there are many who need moral support, and those that are so well poised and self-reliant in their own freedom should not forget their sisters who are still in bondage, but hold out to them a hand of comradeship and sympathy that they may have strength to stand up for their convictions. Yes, and even those that have no convictions but only that spark of freedom which every inch of their environment, the laws of society, the cant of religionists and even the love of those near and dear to them is struggling hard to extinguish. GRACE STRICKLAND.

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Whither are we Drifting?

It looks very much as if the American citizen might find himself crucified between two thieves—corporations and labor unions. For years the advocates of freedom have directed their gaze toward the encroachments of capital, watching the rapacious and ever-recurring "mergers" swallowing the smaller and weaker institutions, throwing into the ranks of productive laborers thousands who made a fair living by trading, both on credit and credulity. Greater and more powerful have grown these corporations until nearly if not all the most valuable of nature's resources are in the hands of a few who make merchandise of their fellows' necessities.

But if it were from one side only that danger threatened, the task of overcoming would seem less difficult. It is when an enemy approaches from the rear, or when mutiny in the ranks appears, that the raven of doubt perches near the banner of victory.

When labor unions meant, as they once did to some, the protection of the laborer against the grinding heel of capitalism; when they meant brotherhood, the standing by each other in sickness and health, in poverty and distress, then there was promise that the great industrial world would become a unit for the uplifting of humanity.

But what do we see? Capital and labor both striking blows at the rights of the American citizen! A Czolgosz shooting a president in order to hurt capitalism; government imprisoning a Turner to scare labor unions.

Suppression of radical papers on the one hand, intimidation by strikers on the other. We may well ask, where will it end, and when it ends, where will be the citizen who asks nothing but to be let alone, to be allowed to make a living in his own way, not seeking to hinder or to molest anyone else? Many of us have hoped that in the organizations of workers they would find the education needed to make advocates of liberty. But what sort of sophistry must be used, when workers seek to tyrannize over their fellow workers. Authority is authority whether practised by the president of a nation or of a labor union.

Anarchists denounce authority everywhere and always, and we protest against the idea that a person must join any society in order to be allowed to make his living. The law of supply and demand will regulate the labor question if unhampered by authority. Unionism is no better than Methodism, Presbyterianism, or any other dogmatism that seeks to discriminate against those who do not *belong* to them. *Belong* is the right word, for when one becomes a member of any organized body he *belongs* to it, is ruled by it, and his individuality suppressed.

The honest friend of freedom has no use for labor unions, knowing that it were better to be crushed between the upper and neither millstones, than to compromise with liberty. MYRA PEPPER.

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LETTER-BOX.

Freiheit.—The boxing of one's ears is tyranny, but not argument.

A. Walker.—All right; you shall have the paper until you are able to pay for it.

B. G, Denver.—There is no truth in the statement that Comrade Parsons' son joined the army in the late Spanish war. If children of Anarchists do join the army, it only goes to show that they have not understood how to imbue their children with the beauties of Anarchism by word and action.

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For Boston.

The Boston Social Science Club meets every Sunday at 3. p. m. in room 9, 724 Washington street. The first series of lectures will be on Anarchism—Its relation to other forms of Socialism, "What Anarchism is," "Its Scientific basis," "Its Social application," and "Its political Economy." Free discussion follows each lecture. Admission Free.

For Philadelphia.

The annual Russian Tea-Party will take place Friday, March 25, 8 p. m., at Pennsylvania Hall, 928 S. 6th St. An excellent program has been arranged, consisting in a grand concert and ball, in which V. de Cleyre, C. McGuckin, L. Sobelman, F. Giamini, and other talent will participate. Admission 25 cents.

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For Cleveland.

"Free Society" meets every Sunday, 3:30 p. m., in Foresters' Hall, 223 Champlain St. All friends of liberty are cordially invited.

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